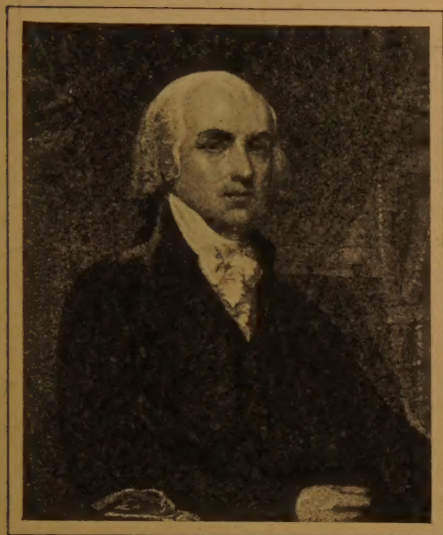


# FATHERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

---



JAMES MADISON

After a portrait by Gilbert Stuart

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART  
*Professor of Government, Harvard University*

THE MENTOR  
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
SERIAL No. 75



## MENTOR GRAVURES

JOHN ADAMS, *by Gilbert Stuart*

THOMAS JEFFERSON

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS, *by Ezra Ames*

JAMES MADISON, *by A. B. Durand*

JAMES MONROE, *by A. B. Durand*

ALEXANDER HAMILTON, *by John Trumbull*

THE best thing that a young man can provide himself with is an honorable and efficient father; and the Constitution of the United States was well advised when it selected for its authors the remarkable men who assembled in the Federal Convention at Philadelphia in May, 1787. In a large sense the seventy-four men who were designated by one or another state of the Union to represent them there did not include all the fathers of the immortal Constitution.

Who shall deny a share in the great work to such men as James Otis and Oxenbridge Thacher, then dead and gone, or to Patrick Henry, who remained at home in Virginia? Such soldiers as Nathanael Greene and Francis Marion and Philip Schuyler had their part in preparing the way for a national government that would stand. On the other hand, some of the members cared little for their privilege of paternity. Gabriel Duvall of Maryland and Thomas Nelson of Virginia declined to serve. Robert Yates and John Lansing, Jr., went home before the convention was half over. Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts refused to sign the document, and opposed it in his own state.

The term Fathers of the Constitution, however, may be applied to the group of twenty to twenty-five men who were active in discussion, stayed through, were among the thirty-nine who set their names in



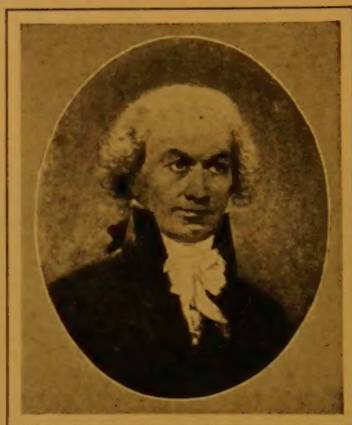
# FATHERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

approval of the document September 17, 1787, and went out to urge their countrymen to accept their finished work.

## WASHINGTON AND FRANKLIN

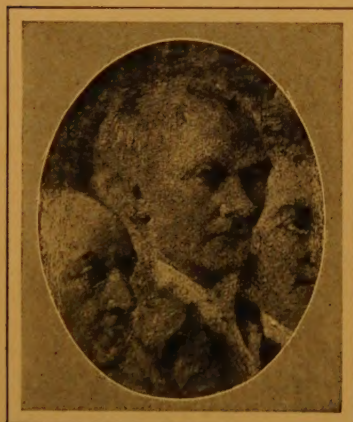
Two world-renowned members were not active in discussion, but were nevertheless great Fathers of the Constitution. George Washington, delegate from Virginia, was elected president of the convention. The records show that he made only one suggestion on the floor, which was at once adopted;

but his service as moderator was clear evidence to his countrymen that the convention must be a patriotic body. Benjamin Franklin twelve years before had started the ball rolling for the Articles of Confederation, upon which the new Constitution was founded; but he was very old, and had a habit of going to sleep in his chair. His service was limited to the method by which President Eliot says some of his classmates got their degree from Harvard College, —simply by being



**OLIVER ELLSWORTH**

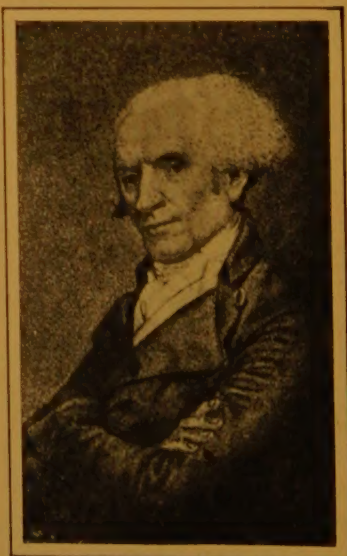
*From an oil miniature, painted in 1872 by John Trumbull, owned by Yale University*



**ROGER SHERMAN**

*In the painting, "The Declaration of Independence," by John Trumbull, owned by Yale University*

there. He said himself that he attended five hours a day during the four months of the Convention; but he was not able to make long addresses, and the four or five speeches which he prepared were all read for him by his colleague, James Wilson. Yet he made several good suggestions, and on the last day of the convention he rose to urge a spirit of compromise, a willingness to yield something of one's own opinion; to avoid the spirit of "a certain French lady, who, in a dispute with her sister, said, 'I don't know how it happens, Sister, but I meet with nobody but myself that is always in the right!'"



**ELBRIDGE GERRY**

*From a crayon portrait, painted by John Vanderlyn at Paris in 1798*



# FATHERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

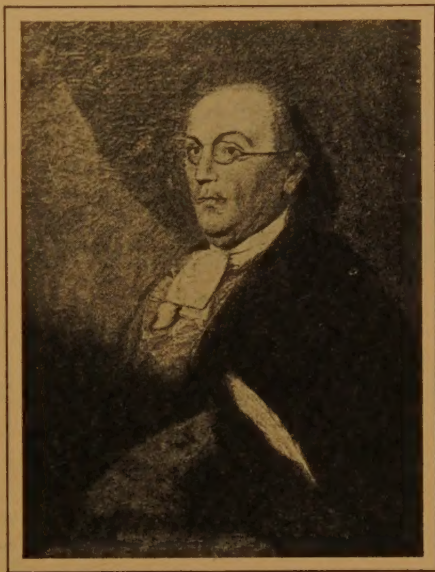
Many of the hard-working delegates were observed and noted down by William Pierce, delegate from Georgia. Of Roger Sherman of Connecticut he says, "He is awkward, unmeaning, and unaccountably strange in his manner; he is an able politician, and extremely artful in accomplishing any particular object; it is remarked that he seldom fails."

Pierce also had a high opinion of Oliver Ellsworth of Connecticut, "a Gentleman of a clear, deep, and copious understanding; eloquent and connected in public debate." He admired William Paterson of New Jersey as "one of those kind of Men whose powers break in upon you, and create wonder and astonishment."

James Wilson of Pennsylvania, later justice of the new federal supreme court, according to Pierce "ranks among the foremost in legal and political knowledge."

## PROGRESS OF THE CONVENTION

Everybody knows the story of the progress of the convention. On assembling, a sort of outline was drawn up by the Virginia delegation, commonly called the Randolph Plan, and was brought in and debated for about two weeks, till the general form of the Constitution was blocked out. After a short respite the convention went over the whole ground a second time, and then appointed a committee of detail. That committee reported a draft of the Constitution which was gone over a third time. Then it was reported by a committee of style and arrangement, which gave it its final finish, and four days later the Convention approved the completed work.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

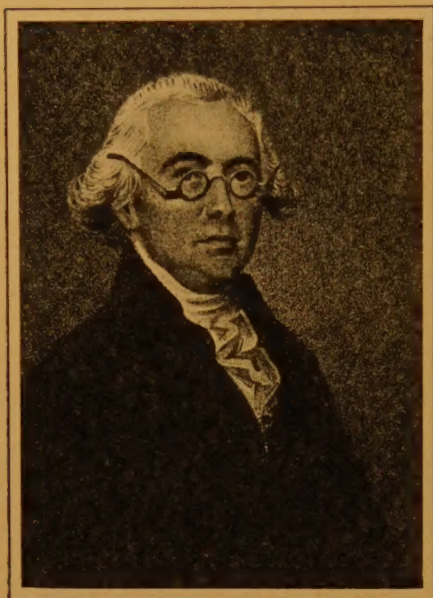
From the portrait painted in 1787 by Charles Wilson Peale, owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania

## MADISON THE LEADER

Throughout this momentous four months the leading figure was James Madison of Virginia, a graduate of Princeton College. Pierce says of him, "every Person seems to acknowledge his greatness. He has been twice a Member of Congress, and was always thought one of the ablest Members that ever sat in that Council. Mr. Madison is about 37 years of age, a Gentleman of great modesty, with a remarkable sweet temper." Madison had taken special pains to prepare himself for the work: he ordered from Europe all the books that he could think



# FATHERS OF THE CONSTITUTION



JAMES WILSON  
From a miniature

of, bearing upon federal government; read them and made an abstract of them. Before the convention met he drew up the Randolph Plan.

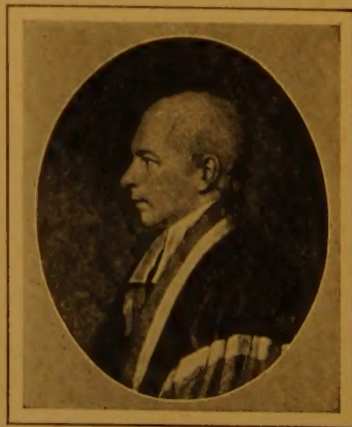
Realizing the importance of the discussions to posterity, he took shorthand notes of the debates throughout the four months, and wrote out abstracts which in many cases were corrected by the members who made the arguments. Thirty years later these notes were published, and still furnish the most important source of our knowledge about the work of the convention. Madison was on his feet day after day, arguing, making suggestions, and answering objections; and there is not a section of the whole Constitution which does not bear the impress of his mind. He worked upon

the Constitution as a sculptor models the clay under his hands, rounding out here, and taking away in another place.

## HAMILTON THE BRILLIANT

Though Madison was the most active man in the convention, he was not equal in brilliance to the young New York delegate, Colonel Alexander Hamilton.

Hamilton is one of the world's wonders. At this time he was only thirty years old; yet he was already famous as a lawyer and a statesman. Nevertheless he did not shine in the convention. He made one elaborate speech, and submitted a plan for a Constitution which was far from the ideas of the convention; for it proposed to centralize the whole government,—the president was to appoint all the governors of the states and to have a veto upon all the state legislatures. Hamilton was born in one of the West Indian colonies, and never felt the sense of loyalty to a state which was the dearest feeling of many of his colleagues. From the first he believed in the United States with a capital U and a capital S.



WILLIAM PATERSON



---

# FATHERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

---



THE HOME OF JAMES MADISON, AT MONTPELIER, VIRGINIA

Nevertheless, Hamilton rendered an immense service to his country by defending the Constitution when it came before the state conventions, in a series of newspaper articles called *The Federalist*; and by very skilful political tactics he persuaded the New York state convention to ratify the Constitution.

## MORRIS' VALUABLE SERVICE

One of the most useful, though not one of the most distinguished, members of the convention was Gouverneur Morris, who was a delegate from Pennsylvania, though he later lived in New York. He spoke oftener in the convention than anybody else, usually basing his argument on the low character of the human race and the necessity of protecting men from themselves. He did his best to keep the West from sharing in the government of the Union. His chief service was as member of the committee on style; and tradition has it that the crisp, direct, and clear language of the Constitution is to a considerable degree due to his skill in phrasing the resolutions to which the convention had come.

All three of these men had been members of the Congress of the Confederation, and that is one of the reasons why they aided to make a good Constitution. Others had been signers of the Declaration of Independence, governors, or judges in their states. It is a curious fact that the only thing in the Constitution which does not appear to have been suggested by members out of their own experience is the method of choosing a president by special electors; and that method broke down in 1796, the third time it was tried.

## VARIED POINTS OF VIEW

After the storm of opposition to the new Constitution passed by, and all the thirteen states came in under "the new roof," people began to understand the great service which the members of the convention had



## FATHERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

rendered, and it has ever since passed as the ablest body of public men ever gathered in America. Mr. Gladstone once spoke of the Constitution as "the greatest work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man." Nowadays some writers are trying to make out that the convention was only a gathering of individuals who were trying to put together a government in such a manner that they could make money under it.

Professor Charles A. Beard, in his elaborate "Economic Interpretation of the Constitution," tries to show that "the direct, impelling motive... was the economic advantages which the beneficiaries expected would accrue to them from their action." He proves that Gunning Bedford, delegate from Delaware, once owned \$400 in United States securities; Oliver Ellsworth had \$6,000 of government bonds; Benjamin Franklin owned 3,000 acres of land; Charles C. Pinckney made \$20,000 a year out of his law practice. Therefore the Constitution was made by property owners for their own benefit!

All these investigations, tables, and figures prove no more than that in 1787 the American people selected to draw up a new Constitution for them the men who had been elected to state legislatures, Congress, and other public places, and that these men had property and family influence. The United States was far from a democracy then; but the convention prepared the way for a real democracy by forming a government which could be controlled by the voters, and leaving to every state the right to decide for itself who should be its voters.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

From the portrait by Charles Wilson Peale, in the gallery of the New York Historical Society

### JEFFERSON'S ATTITUDE

This idea of popular government was taken up by a statesman who is a true Father of the Constitution, though he was in Paris during the whole convention. This was Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, later governor of Virginia, member of the old Congress, and minister to France. Jefferson was a Father of the Constitution because he spent much of his life in proving that liberty and popular government could endure under that form,—the form drawn up in Philadelphia. He was a little frightened at the strength of the national government which he found when he came home from France in 1790, and he had a tilt with Hamilton over the proposed



---

# FATHERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

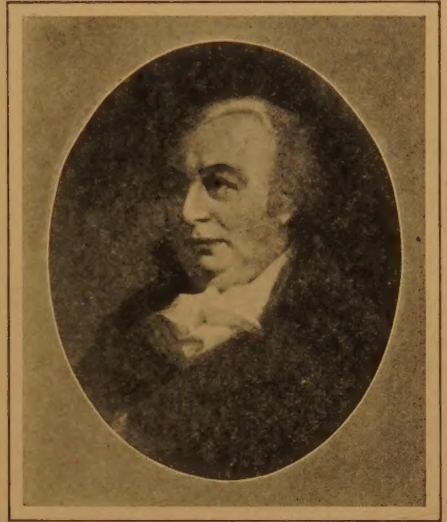
---

United States bank. He could find nothing in the Constitution on that subject; while Hamilton justified such a charter on the doctrine of "implied powers." When Jefferson became president, and wanted to annex Louisiana in 1803, he found the "implied powers" very convenient. If Jefferson added nothing to the work of the convention, he made it clear that we could have at the same time a strong nation, strong states, and broad manhood suffrage, under the federal Constitution.

## JOHN ADAMS, FIRST VICE PRESIDENT

John Adams was likewise out of the country in 1787; but was the first vice president under the new constitution, and as president of the Senate he had a hand in organizing the government. Senator Maclay of Pennsylvania in his diary sneers at "Little Johnny Adams," who was once dubbed "His superfluous excellency." He quotes him as saying, "I am Vice President, in this I am nothing, but I may be everything. But I am President also of the Senate. When the President comes into the Senate, what shall I be?" John Adams resembled Hamilton in his preference for a strong government; though the two later became deadly enemies.

Adams, a country schoolmaster in his youth, had worked up to the top, and always thought he was of rather better clay than most of his countrymen. But he was one of the few men in public life who had thought about and written on American government; particularly his "Constitutions of American Government," in which occurs the famous phrase, "throw the rich and the proud into one group in a separate assembly." When he became president, after Washington's retirement in 1797, he set out to show that the federal government had teeth; he dismissed his secretary of state, signed the Alien and Sedition Acts, and made peace with France in 1800 when his party wanted war. At that time he looked upon Thomas Jefferson as a fearful demagogue; but John Adams was a good American, and in later days Jefferson and Adams again became friends.



GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

From a portrait by Marchant, after Sully, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia

## INFLUENCE OF JOHN MARSHALL

Many men besides those two early presidents helped to improve the work of the Federal Convention, by making it work under new



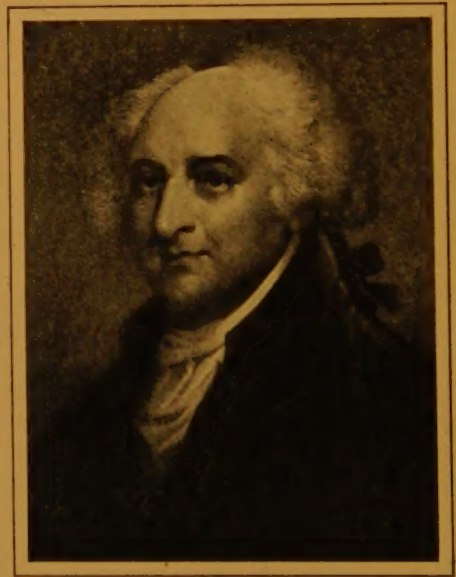
## FATHERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

circumstances; but the man who next to Madison has done most to fix the form and meaning of the Constitution did not enter national life till after the convention adjourned. This was John Marshall, who in 1801 was appointed chief justice of the supreme court by Adams, and served for thirty-four years. Every court has to consider the meaning and force of laws that are brought to its attention; but Marshall was the first man to show how the United States supreme court could, in its published decisions, set forth the meaning of the federal Constitution. First he laid down the doctrine that his court was superior both to Congress and to the president,—a compliment which Jefferson returned by trying to secure the impeachment of one of the supreme court judges. A few years later the court again took courage, and in a series of sweeping decisions, such as *McCulloch vs. Maryland*, and *Cohens vs. Virginia*, approved the doctrine of implied powers, backed up the authority of Congress, and curbed the power of the states. In the end Jefferson and Madison and John Adams all accepted the theory of the Constitution which Marshall so skilfully worked out. It is that theory under which we live today.

The Fathers of the federal Constitution of 1787 were (without knowing it) also fathers of a large family of constitutions for other lands. The American experiment in creating a strong, well knit, and clearly written instrument had great effect on the statesmen of the French Revolution: who even gave to one of their national legislatures the title of the "Constituent Assembly." Wherever the French armies went this idea of a



BIRTHPLACE OF JOHN ADAMS, AT QUINCY, MASSACHUSETTS  
This house was built in 1681



JOHN ADAMS



---

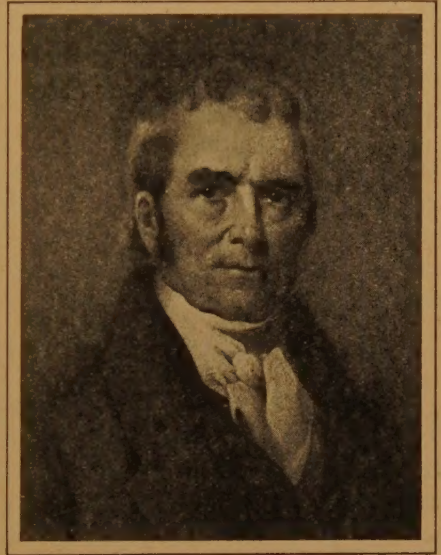
## FATHERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

---

written document was carried. Paper constitutions were thick as the leaves of Vallambrosa; constitutions were made, unmade, remade, amended, disregarded, overthrown, and born again. In our time Turkey, Persia, and China have set up written constitutions; and then have shown how the letter killeth by ignoring the work of their own hands.

The Constitution of the United States has had its largest effect through its federal side. The three old confederations in Europe—the United Netherlands, the Swiss Confederation, and the Holy Roman Empire—were all smashed by the force of the French Revolution. Instead, the Napoleonic idea of big, powerful, centralized government appealed to Europe; and the closest approach to a federation for some years was the military union of the allied powers which finally overthrew Napoleon in 1815.

The moment the Napoleonic wars were over Switzerland and Germany revived their old federations, and in both cases were regulated by a formal written constitution. At that time the United States was still weak, and Europe was not at all sure that the federal union would last; but as decade followed decade, and “the indestructible union of indestructible states” grew in population, wealth, and self-confidence, Switzerland in 1848 paid us the high compliment of framing a new constitution very like that of the United States of America.



JOHN MARSHALL

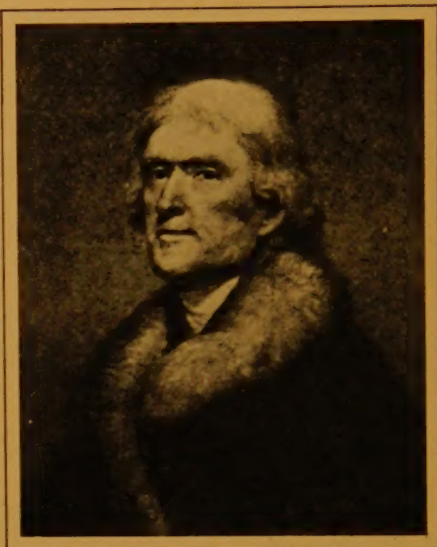
### THE AMERICAN MODEL

Our Civil War was a lesson to the world of the ability of a federal government to stand the strain of sectional enmity and civil war. The result was that in 1867 our neighbors the Canadians formed the federal Dominion of Canada; and in the same year Prussia and neighboring states joined in the North German Union. The influence of the United States on the constitution of this new federation was so great that the Germans even adopted for federal suffrage the American principle of manhood suffrage. Three years later the south German states came into the new Empire of Germany, which adopted a constitution which never could have been framed but for the example and the details of the work of the Constitution builders of 1787.



## FATHERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

Since that time federations have been set up on the American plan in Australia and South Africa, so that two hundred millions of the human race have now daily occasion to thank the fathers of our Constitution for setting the great principles of federation in motion. The example is likely to spread farther, to Austria-Hungary, to the Balkans, to the Scandinavian countries, possibly even to India and China. This splendid conception of "the many in one," of a strong central government, able to protect the commerce of a great nation, and to defend it from its enemies, goes alongside of the equally striking idea that the great number of matters of local concern can safely be left to the states.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

From the portrait painted in 1803 by Rembrandt Peale, in the gallery of the New York Historical Society

### FEDERATION OF THE WORLD

If one hundred million people can live safe, happy, and great under the work of the fathers of the Constitution, why may not the idea be pushed farther? If the conflicting interests of the North and the South could be made to harmonize, till both sections are satisfied and prosperous, why might not the nations of Europe combine into one great confederation? The fifteen small European states are all afraid of their great neighbors, and would feel easier inside such a combination. The great powers of Europe have indeed formed two combinations of late years,—the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente; but one of them has just gone to pieces on the first trial. There was a time when Virginia claimed a third of the territory of the Union, and expected to be the dominant state; just so three of the great European powers now feel themselves entitled to take the lead in European affairs. The difficulties in the way of European federation, and still more of a world federation, are tremendous; yet who would have believed that the thirteen English colonies of 1775 could within fourteen years come to such a splendid piece of state-making as the federal Constitution; and who can tell what Europe may accomplish in the next fourteen years?

Americans believe in a federal government that can do things; agreeing with Daniel Webster that the American Constitution is "the people's Constitution, the people's government, made by the people and answerable to the people."



---

# FATHERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

---

## MEMBERS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1787

THE roll call of delegates, which follows, shows the state each member represents. The names of delegates who signed the Constitution and also signed the Declaration of Independence are printed in capitals, the names of those who, for one reason or another, were absent when the Constitution was signed are printed in italics; the names of those who were present but refused to sign are preceded by an asterisk (\*).

Baldwin, Abraham (Georgia).  
Bassett, Richard (Delaware).  
Bedford, Gunning (Delaware).  
Blair, John (Virginia).  
Blount, William (North Carolina).  
Brearley, David (New Jersey).  
Brown, Jacob (Delaware).  
Butler, Pierce (South Carolina).  
Carroll, Daniel (Maryland).  
CLYMER, GEORGE (Pennsylvania).  
*Davie, William Richardson* (North Carolina).  
Dayton, Nathan (New Jersey).  
Dickinson, John (Delaware).  
*Ellsworth, Oliver* (Connecticut).  
Few, William (Georgia).  
Fitzsimons, Thomas (Pennsylvania).  
FRANKLIN, BENJAMIN (Pennsylvania).  
\*Gerry, Elbridge (Massachusetts).  
Gilman, Nicholas (New Hampshire).  
Gorham, Nathaniel (Massachusetts).  
Hamilton, Alexander (New York).  
*Houston, William Churchill* (New Jersey).  
*Houstoun, William* (Georgia).  
Ingersoll, Jared (Pennsylvania).  
Jenifer, Daniel, of St. Thomas (Maryland).  
Johnson, William Samuel (Connecticut).  
King, Rufus (Massachusetts).  
Langdon, John (New Hampshire).

*Lansing, John* (New York).  
Livingston, William (New Jersey).  
Madison, James (Virginia).  
*Martin, Alexander* (North Carolina).  
*Martin, Luther* (Maryland).  
\*Mason, George (Virginia).  
*McClurg, James* (Virginia).  
McHenry, James (Maryland).  
*Mercer, John Francis* (Maryland).  
Mifflin, Thomas (Pennsylvania).  
Morris, Gouverneur (Pennsylvania).  
MORRIS, ROBERT (Pennsylvania).  
Paterson, William (New Jersey).  
*Pierce, William* (Georgia).  
Pinckney, Charles (South Carolina).  
Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth (South Carolina).  
\*Randolph, Edmund (Virginia).  
READ, GEORGE (Delaware).  
Rutledge, John (South Carolina).  
SHERMAN, ROGER (Connecticut).  
Spaight, Richard Dobbs (North Carolina).  
*Strong, Caleb* (Massachusetts).  
Washington, George (Virginia).  
Williamson, Hugh, (North Carolina).  
WILSON, JAMES (Pennsylvania).  
*Wythe, George* (Virginia).  
*Yates, Robert* (New York).

---

## SUPPLEMENTARY READING

### THE CONFEDERATION AND THE CONSTITUTION

*By Andrew C. McLaughlin.*

A careful study of the conditions and events of the making of the Constitution.

### JAMES MADISON *By Sidney Howard Gay.*

A biography of the man who had the most influence in the Convention.

### CYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT *Edited by McLaughlin and Hart.*

Most recent special articles under the headings:

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, GROWTH OF;  
CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, SOURCES OF;  
CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION;  
FEDERAL CONVENTION AND ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

### RECORDS OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION *By Max Farrand.*

Most complete reprint of all known minutes of debates, private letters of members, and other contemporaneous matter on the Constitution.

### ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONSTITUTION

*By Hampton I. Carson.*

Elaborate account of the Convention and its principal characters.

### EVOLUTION OF THE CONSTITUTION

*By John A. Kasson.*

Account of the text of the document.

### CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

*By George Ticknor Curtis.*

First volume of his *Constitutional History*.

### HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

*By John Bach McMaster.*

Includes an interesting narrative of the Convention and its work.

### OUR CONSTITUTION

*By E. W. Townsend.*

The complete story of the origin, birth, and development of the Constitution of the United States.





# THE OPEN LETTER



In the Philadelphia State House, the building in which the Declaration of Independence was written and signed, the Constitutional Convention met in May, 1787. "Such a convention of great men, indeed, had never met before, nor has ever since assembled in the United States, if we make achievement in public service our measure of greatness." So observes Mr. Edward W. Townsend in his history of the making of the Constitution. Men of all kinds and professions were there, and dominating the Convention were such leaders as Washington, Madison, Hamilton, and Benjamin Franklin—the last of whom had advised with rulers and cabinets, been welcomed at courts, apostrophized by poets, and imitated in a score of fashions by a whole nation. Franklin was eighty-one years old, and his mind was rich in knowledge and experience. Six signers of the Declaration of Independence wrote their names to the Constitution. Every member was distinguished in some manner. From Georgia came Major William Pierce, who, fortunately for us, caught up the impressions he received of his colleagues and preserved them in his writings. Here are some of the pictures that Pierce drew:

★ ★ ★

*Alexander Hamilton:* "Whilst he is able, convincing and engaging in his eloquence, the heart and head sympathize in approving him. Yet there is something too feeble in his voice to be equal to the strains of oratory—it is my opinion that he is rather a convincing speaker than a blazing orator. His language is not always equal; sometimes didactic, like Bolingbroke's; at others light and tripping, like Sterne's. He is of small stature and lean. His manners are tinctured with stiffness, and sometimes with a degree of vanity."

*William Patterson:* "His powers break in upon you and create wonder and astonishment—he is classic, a lawyer and an orator."

*Gouverneur Morris:* "He is one of those geniuses in whom every species of talents combine to render him conspicuous and flourishing in public debate. . . .

He throws around him such a glare that he charms, captivates, and leads away the senses of all who hear him."

★ ★ ★

*James Wilson:* "He is well acquainted with man, and understands all the passions that influence him. Government seems to have been his peculiar study, and all the political institutions of the world he seems to know in detail. No man is more clear, copious and comprehensive than Mr. Wilson, and yet he is no great orator."

*James Madison:* "He blends together the profound politician with the scholar. In the management of every great question he took the lead in the Convention, and though he cannot be called an orator, he is a most agreeable, eloquent and convincing speaker."

*Edmund Randolph:* "A young gentleman in whom unite all the accomplishments of the scholar and statesman."

*Elbridge Gerry:* "He is a hesitating and laborious speaker. He cherishes as his first virtue, a love for his country."

*Roger Sherman:* "No man has a better heart or a clearer head."

★ ★ ★

*George Washington:* "Like Gustavus Vasa, he may be said to be the deliverer of his country—like Peter the Great, he appears as the politician and the statesman—and like Cincinnatus, he returns to his farm, perfectly contented with being only a plain citizen, after enjoying the highest honors—and now only seeks for the approbation of his countrymen by being virtuous and useful."

★ ★ ★

When the plan of a constitution was proposed some were for considering what the people at large would approve. Then it was that Washington uttered his famous warning: "It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. If to please the people we offer what we ourselves disapprove, however can we afterwards defend our work? LET US RAISE A STANDARD TO WHICH THE WISE AND HONEST CAN REPAIR; THE EVENT IS IN THE HAND OF GOD."





JOHN ADAMS, BY GILBERT STUART





JOHN ADAMS, from the famous painting by Gilbert Stuart, is the subject of one of the intaglio-gravure pictures illustrating "Fathers of the Constitution."

## JOHN ADAMS

Monograph Number One in The Mentor Reading Course

JOHN ADAMS was one of the greatest patriots that our country ever knew.

When in 1785 he was presented to George III, king of England, as American minister to that country, the king suggested that he knew of Adams' lack of faith in the French government. The ambassador admitted it, and added, in his usual outspoken manner, "I must avow to your Majesty that I have no attachment but to my own country."

John Adams was born at Quincy, Massachusetts, on October 30, 1735. He graduated from Harvard College when he was twenty years old, and for a short time afterward taught school and studied law. In 1765 he became a leader of the Massachusetts Whigs, opposing the Stamp Act which taxed the American colonists without representation in the British Parliament. Six years later he was elected to the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

John Adams was a member of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1778. His influence there was great. From the very beginning of the colonies' quarrel with the mother country he was anxious for them to assert complete independence of Great Britain. He it was who seconded the nomination of Washington as commander in chief of the Continental Army.

It was on June 7, 1776, that he seconded the famous resolution of Richard Henry Lee which said that "these colonies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent states," and on June 8 he was appointed one of the committee to draft a Declaration of Independence, and led in the debate on its adoption.

In 1779 he went to England as minister to negotiate a treaty of peace; but he did not yield so easily to the French government as it wished, and so others were appointed to work with him. Adams persuaded this committee to break its instructions and to deal directly with the British peace commis-

sioners without consulting the French ministers. In this way the Americans were able to make a very favorable treaty of peace, which was signed on September 3, 1783. Adams was also successful in negotiating a loan for the United States in the Netherlands in the same year.

After being ambassador to Great Britain, Adams was the chief opponent of Washington in the first presidential election. He was elected vice president, and became one of the leaders of the Federalist party. When Washington refused to serve a third term in 1796 Adams was chosen president, defeating Thomas Jefferson for the office.

Adams was not popular in France, and that country did not like his election. It began to capture our ships, and informed the United States that it would cease only if the French ministers were bribed. Charles C. Pinckney, ambassador to France, replied, "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!" America prepared to go to war with its former ally; but when the French people found that they were about to have a war on their hands they decided to give in.

The remainder of Adams' administration was full of trouble. The unpopular Alien and Sedition Laws were made, one of which gave the president power to send any foreigner out of the country without a trial, or else to put him in prison; while another punished anyone who opposed the government or published anything criticizing the government.

Adams tried to get a second term as president in 1800; but he was defeated by Thomas Jefferson. He then retired into private life. On July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, he died at Quincy, Massachusetts. It was a peculiar coincidence that Thomas Jefferson died on the same day.

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE MENTOR ASSOCIATION

ILLUSTRATION FOR THE MENTOR, VOL. 2, No. 23, SERIAL No. 75

COPYRIGHT, 1915, BY THE MENTOR ASSOCIATION, INC.





JAMES MADISON, BY A. B. DURAND



JAMES MADISON, from the painting by A. B. Durand, is the subject of one of the intaglio-gravure pictures illustrating "Fathers of the Constitution."

### JAMES MADISON

Monograph Number Three in The Mentor Reading Course

**H**ENRY CLAY, one of the greatest of American statesmen, once said that though Thomas Jefferson had more genius than James Madison, the latter had more judgment and common-sense; that Jefferson was a visionary and theorist; while Madison was cool, dispassionate, and practical. His greatest fame is as "Father of the Constitution."

James Madison was born at Port Conway, Virginia, on March 16, 1751. He entered the College of New Jersey, which is now Princeton University, when he was eighteen years old. At that institution there flourishes today the literary society which he founded, the American Whig Society. He graduated in 1771; but remained for another year studying for the ministry. Four years later he was chosen delegate to the new Virginia Convention, where he fought hard for religious freedom. He was not reelected the next year because, it is said, he refused to treat the electors with rum and punch after the custom of the time. In 1779 he was elected delegate to the Continental Congress. This was in the final stages of the Revolution.

His term in Congress ended in November, 1783, and he returned to Virginia, taking up the study of law. Two years later he finally won his fight for religious freedom in Virginia.

In the Constitutional Convention of 1787 Madison took a leading part in the debates. Many of the wise provisions in the Constitution were due to him, and in spite of the opposition of the Virginia leaders Madison induced the delegation from that state to stand by the Constitution in the convention. It was his influence that largely shaped the form of the final draft, and it was due to his untiring efforts that the Constitu-

tion was finally accepted by the people. To bring this about he joined with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay in writing *The Federalist*, a series of eighty-five papers, twenty-nine of which were written by him. By his efforts in favor of the Constitution in a state hostile to it he lost valuable political support in Virginia. He was defeated in his candidacy for the Senate, but was elected to Congress as representative, defeating James Monroe. There he took a leading part in the legislation necessary to the organization of the new government.

In 1794 he married Dorothy Payne Todd, the widow of John Todd, a Philadelphia lawyer. Dolly Madison was one of the most famous and popular women of the day, due to her great social charm.

In 1801 he became secretary of state in Jefferson's cabinet. Seven years later he was candidate of the Republican party for president, and after a hard struggle was elected, defeating C. C. Pinckney, the Federalist candidate. He followed Jefferson's peace policy; but finally, in 1812, our country became engaged in war with England. He was reelected president in the same year; but Madison was too much the scholar to be a strong leader in such a crisis, and his second term was by no means a success. The supreme disgrace of the administration was the capture and partial destruction of the city of Washington in August, 1814. Congress was more blamable than the president for these failures.

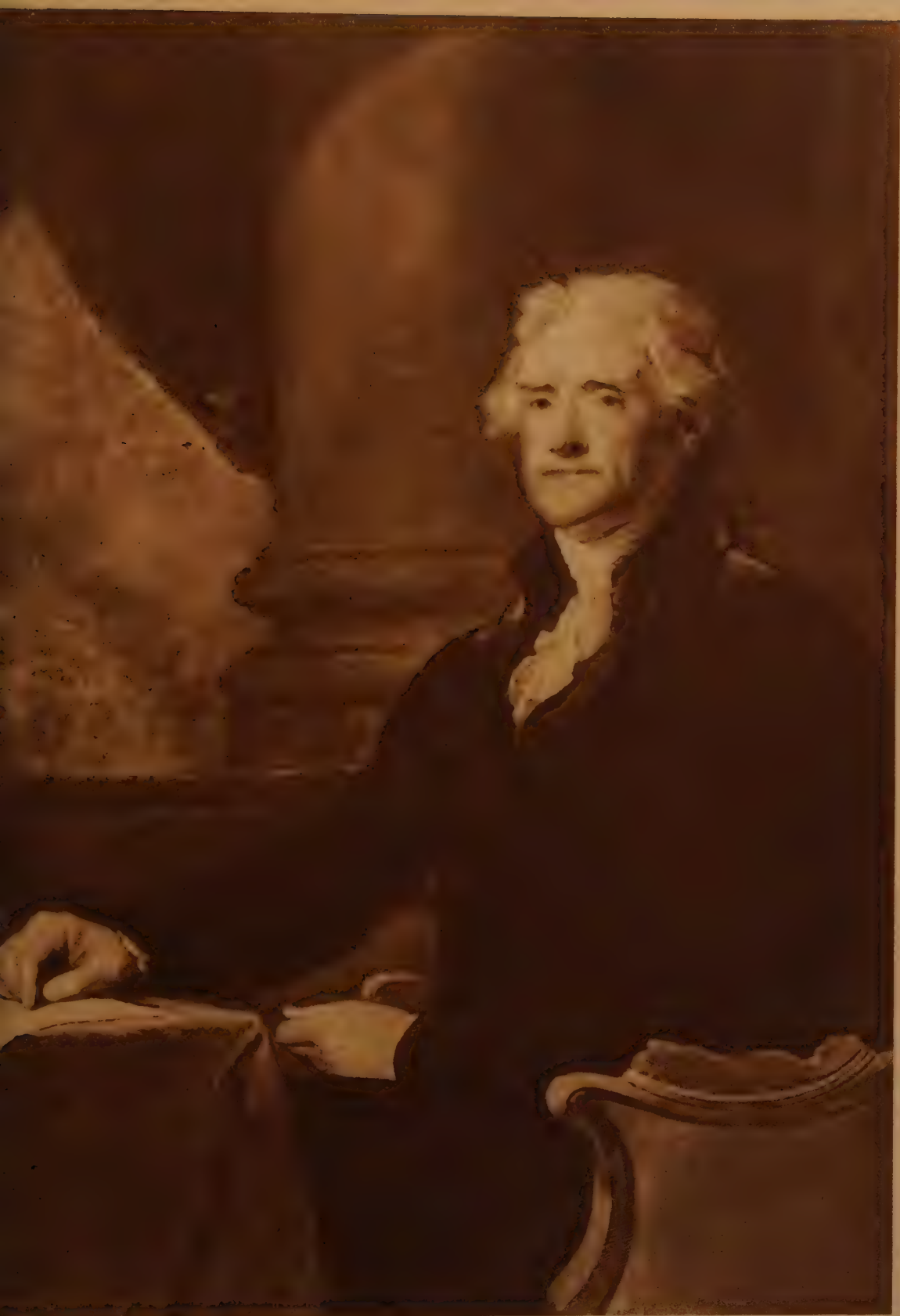
He retired from the presidency in 1817, and returned to his home, Montpelier, Virginia. He made it a center for literary travelers in his last years. He took a great interest in education and in agricultural questions to the end. He died at Montpelier on June 28, 1836.

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE MENTOR ASSOCIATION

ILLUSTRATION FOR THE MENTOR, VOL. 2, No. 23. SERIAL No. 75

COPYRIGHT, 1915, BY THE MENTOR ASSOCIATION, INC.





THOMAS JEFFERSON



THOMAS JEFFERSON, who has come to be generally called the father of the Declaration of Independence, is the subject of one of the intaglio-gravure pictures illustrating "Fathers of the Constitution."

### THOMAS JEFFERSON

Monograph Number Two in The Mentor Reading Course

JEFFERSON got a running start into his successful life on his father's estate, Shadwell, Virginia, where he was born on April 13, 1743. From this parent, who died when Thomas was but fourteen, he acquired a keen desire for physical perfection and a thirst for knowledge which never deserted him.

"If I had to choose between education and the estate my father left me, I should choose education," was his expression of joy on being sent to William and Mary College.

He went there a tall, raw-boned, freckled, sandy-haired youth, of whom the best that could be said was that he looked "fresh and healthy." His personal appearance so improved with the passing years, however, that at the height of his public career he was considered one of the handsomest men of his time. An intense reserve, which amounted to shyness, marked his early years, and in that period his ruling passion was study.

The secret of Jefferson's political success was his unwavering democracy and belief in the form of government adopted by the new republic. He was ever confident, as he wrote from Paris, that government by hereditary rulers was that of "wolves over sheep, kites over pigeons."

To those doubters who feared for the republican form of government in its untried days he said, "I believe it is the only one where every man at the call of the laws would fly to the standard of the law and would meet invasions of the public order as his own personal concern."

Jefferson played diplomacy as he did

his violin, with a master's touch, and it was with reluctance that he withdrew from the brilliance of Parisian life, where he served as American minister, to become Washington's secretary of state. He reached the presidency, via the vice presidency, in 1801, and was later re-elected by a vote approaching unanimity.

It was in that high office that he gave most pronounced evidence of his democracy. A committee wished to arrange a national celebration of his birthday. Would he tell them the date? Not he! Instead he informed them that nothing could be more distasteful to him. When traveling he would accept no attentions that would not have been given him as a private citizen. His attitude toward newspaper criticism was that "an administration that has nothing to conceal from the press has nothing to fear from it."

Jefferson was America's first great experimental farmer, and made his estate, Monticello, one of the most beautiful in the country. In Martha G. Kelton, a young widow, he found as great a music and home lover as himself, and after a courtship in which his violin prominently figured he married her in 1772.

Jefferson spent his last days at Monticello, as Daniel Webster says, "surrounded by affectionate friends, his ardor in the pursuit of knowledge undiminished; with uncommon health and unbroken spirits." Death came to him gently on July 4, 1826, exactly fifty years after the adoption of the immortal document, the Declaration of Independence, which is generally deemed the child of his brain.

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE MENTOR ASSOCIATION

ILLUSTRATION FOR THE MENTOR, VOL. 2, No. 23, SERIAL No. 73

COPYRIGHT, 1914, BY THE MENTOR ASSOCIATION, INC.





ALEXANDER HAMILTON, BY JOHN TRUMBULL



ALEXANDER HAMILTON, from the famous painting by John Trumbull in the New York City Hall, is the subject of one of the intaglio-gravure pictures illustrating "Fathers of the Constitution."

### ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Monograph Number Five in The Mentor Reading Course

IT was fear that the early democracy of the country would culminate in the horrors of the French Revolution that led Alexander Hamilton to an untimely end in a duel on the banks of the Hudson. He felt that in the final trial the country would turn to him for salvation. Knowing the temper of the times, he realized that he would be disqualified in the eyes of the people if he did not fight when challenged by Aaron Burr. Mistaken as was his forecast of horrors, he literally gave up his life for his country.

But he left behind many lasting monuments to his genius. The stamp of his constructive mind is on every section of our system of government. Today he is recognized as one of the most brilliant statesmen ever developed in the United States.

Hamilton started life under various handicaps that would have beaten a less dominant spirit. Even the conditions of his birth were questioned. That birth, which gave so much to the United States, is dated January 11, 1757, and occurred on the island of Nevis, West Indies.

On account of the disastrous business failure of his father Alexander went to work in the office of a West India merchant before he was thirteen. His boyhood was given up to hard work, lightened only by day dreams of future greatness and the writing of precocious letters. From one of these this remarkable excerpt is taken:

"I condemn the grovelling condition of a clerk, or the like, to which my fortune condemns me, and would willingly risk my life, though not my character, to exalt my position."

His talent for business led to his being sent to Boston in 1772. Good fortune

so favored him that he was later able to enter King's College, now Columbia University, in New York City.

His oratorical talent developed so early in life that at the age of seventeen he was able to stampede a great mass meeting of the citizens of New York with a fervid speech in behalf of colonial rights. From that triumph he threw himself heart and soul into the national struggle, fighting first with his tongue and pen, and later as commander of a company of artillery.

He was still soldiering at the time of his marriage to Miss Elizabeth Schuyler in 1780; but after the Yorktown victory he settled down to law in New York. His efforts to bring about the ratification of the Constitution won him the treasury portfolio in Washington's cabinet. His resignation from this post, in 1795, was due entirely to lack of personal resources. In a surprisingly few years, however, he was at the head of the New York bar.

With his hand always on the public pulse, he measured and particularly feared the ambitions of Aaron Burr, and brought about his defeat for the presidency in 1800 and later for the governorship of New York. Not once, but a hundred times, did Burr smart under the master statesman's drastic language. Their public combat finally culminated in the challenge to a personal duel.

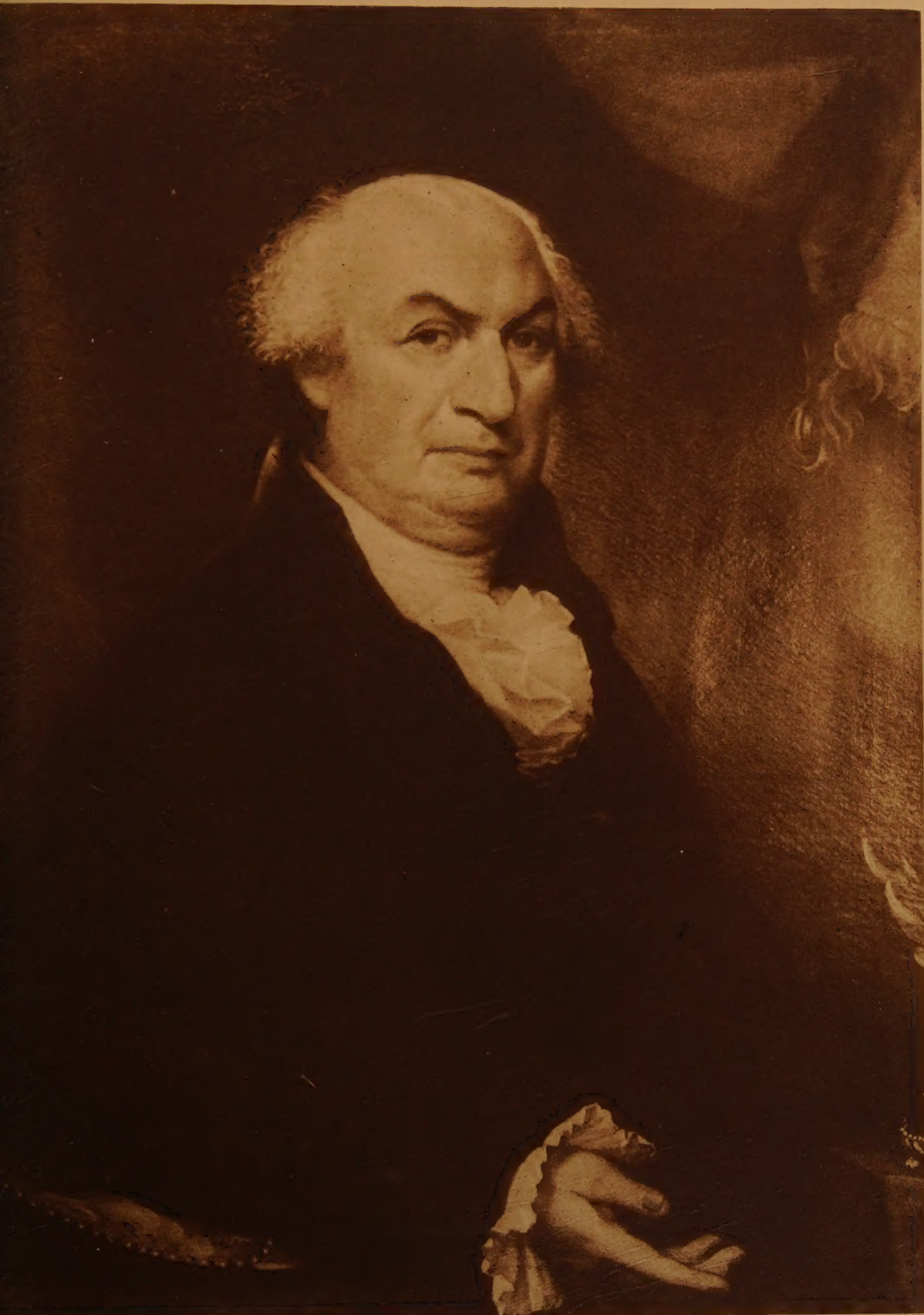
Hamilton abhorred the dueling practice, which a few years before had cost him a beloved son. But he was a fighting man, and his idea of honor commanded that he answer the call. At a less dangerous period in the country's life he would probably have had the strength to refuse Burr. The great man fell mortally wounded at the first shot, and the tragedy caused universal grief. He died on July 12, 1804.

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE MENTOR ASSOCIATION

ILLUSTRATION FOR THE MENTOR, VOL. 2, No. 23, SERIAL No. 75

COPYRIGHT, 1915, BY THE MENTOR ASSOCIATION, INC.





GOUVERNEUR MORRIS, BY EZRA AMES



OUVERNEUR MORRIS, from the painting by Ezra Ames, is the subject of one of the intaglio-gravure pictures illustrating "Fathers of the Constitution."

### GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

Monograph Number Four in The Mentor Reading Course

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS was born in the old Morrisania Manor House, in what is now New York City, on January 31, 1752. He graduated from King's College, which is now Columbia University, in 1768, and was admitted to the bar as a lawyer in 1771.

At that time New York City offered a good opportunity for a public career. The Revolution was about to begin, and any man with a fair amount of brains and aristocratic connections was almost sure to be successful. Morris had both requirements. He was an extreme aristocrat in his political views, and distrusted the Democratic tendencies of the Whigs; but nevertheless he had firm belief in the justice of the American cause.

In 1776 and 1777 he served in the New York Provincial Congress. He was probably the leading advocate in that body of a Declaration of Independence. From 1777 to 1779 he was a member of the Continental Congress and an enthusiastic supporter of Washington.

Probably his greatest fame rests upon his financial ability. From 1781 to 1785 he was assistant to Robert Morris, superintendent of finance of the colonies. In 1782 he prepared an elaborate report on coinage, in which he suggested the use

of the "decimal system" and of the terms "dollar" and "cent."

He was one of the delegates from Pennsylvania to the Constitutional Convention in 1787, and was one of the most active members in the debates; but his highly aristocratic views weakened his influence.

In 1789 he went abroad on private business, and remained there for nine years, passing most of the time in Paris, London, and the German capitals. In 1792 he assisted in the attempted escape of King Louis and Marie Antoinette from Paris. In the same year he was appointed United States minister to France, and was the only representative of a foreign country who remained at his post throughout the Reign of Terror. However, he did not attempt to conceal his hostile attitude toward the Revolution, and the French government requested his recall in 1794.

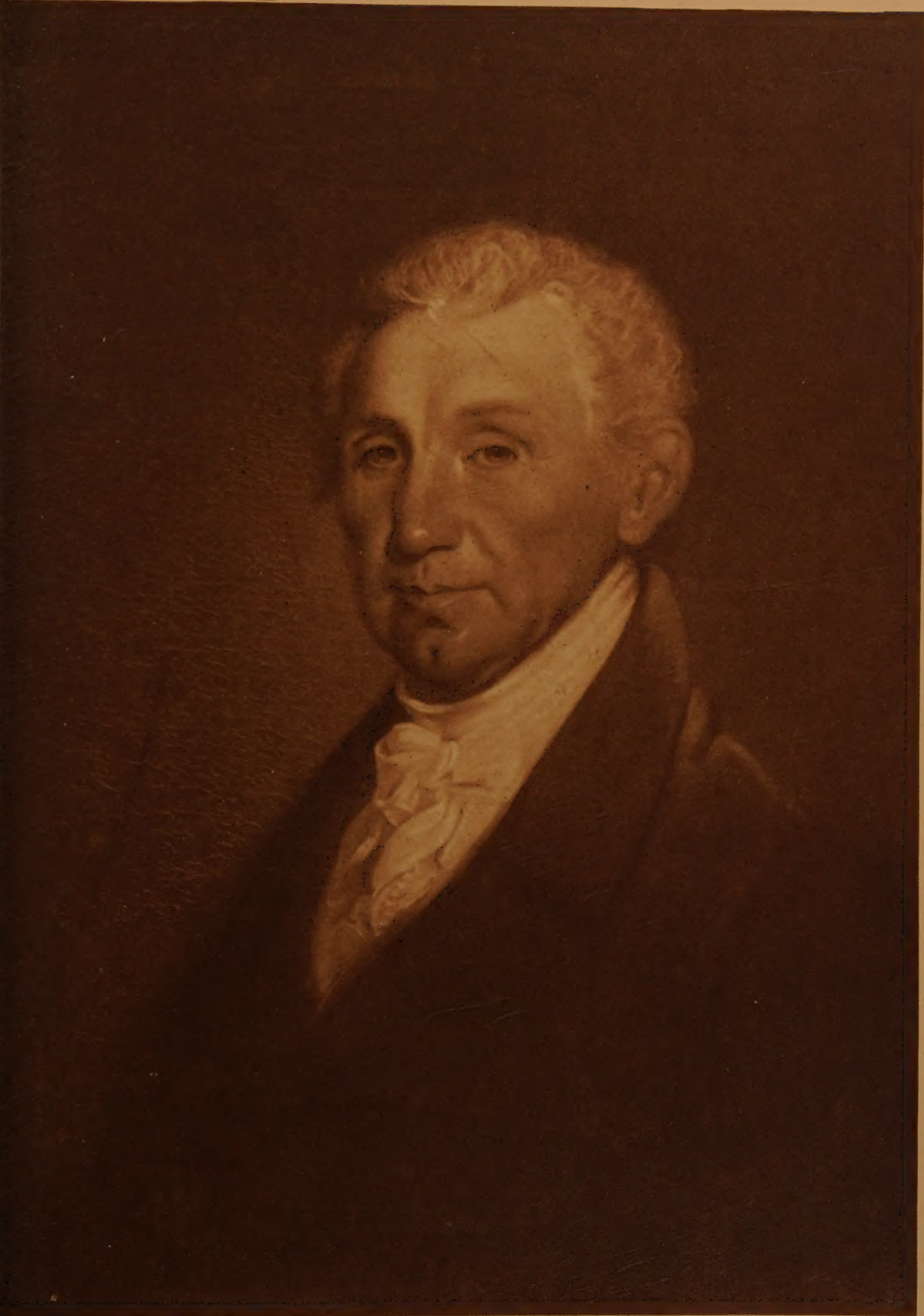
He stayed in Europe four years longer, returning to New York in 1798. There he resumed the practice of law. He was elected to the United States Senate in 1800, and from 1810 to 1816 was chairman of a committee that prepared plans for the Erie Canal. He was always bitterly opposed to the War of 1812. On November 6, 1816, he died at his home, Morrisania.

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE MENTOR ASSOCIATION

ILLUSTRATION FOR THE MENTOR, VOL. 2, No. 23, SERIAL No. 75

COPYRIGHT, 1915, BY THE MENTOR ASSOCIATION, INC.





JAMES MONROE BY A. B. DURAND



JAMES MONROE, from the portrait by Asher B. Durand, is the subject of one of the intaglio-gravure pictures illustrating "Fathers of the Constitution."

### JAMES MONROE

Monograph Number Six in The Mentor Reading Course

AS purchasing agent of foreign territory James Monroe ranks as the most successful a nation ever possessed. From France, in 1803, for a paltry \$15,000,000, he secured most of the territory of the United States west of the Mississippi River. This was the Louisiana Purchase, by which the United States extended its boundary virtually from the mouth of the "Father of Waters" to British Columbia. His later negotiations with Madrid eventually led to the purchase of Florida from Spain.

But Monroe was not satisfied with the mere expansion of the country. In his second term as president he clinched the matter for all time in his famous message to Congress which contained what later became known as the "Monroe Doctrine." The document, couched in words the ruling belief of his public life,—“America for Americans.” But two short paragraphs were required to set forth the doctrine that rings round the world even to the present day. The first of these told of Monroe's own warning to Russia that the United States would consider any attempt at European colonization on the American continents a menace to our peace and safety. He meant every word of the statement.

Born on a beautiful estate in Virginia on April 28, 1758, Monroe passed an active boyhood in Westmoreland County, a neighborhood famous for manifestations of patriotic fervor. An undergraduate at William and Mary College, he didn't hesitate one second when there rang the first thrilling call to arms.

A stout-hearted, hard-riding, sure-shooting young blade, Monroe sought the front rank in every engagement. Leading a charge at White Plains he received a bullet in the shoulder; but the wound did not prevent his winning the

rank of lieutenant colonel for subsequent service in the South.

"You stick to Tom Jefferson," was his father's advice when the war ended. "He'll stick to you as long as you are worthy." Young James took this advice.

Can you imagine anyone studying law under Thomas Jefferson's eye and not emerging a master of politics? Before Monroe was through his tome reading he had become a member of the Continental Congress.

But an important counter influence entered his life in 1786, when he married Elizabeth Kortright of New York. That talented young woman had stanch belief in the sustaining possibilities of the law and a serious doubt of politics. To satisfy her Monroe announced that he would keep away from politics, and settled down at Fredericksburg to work up a practice.

There was no escape from public life, however, for one so naturally fitted for it as he. Even Mrs. Monroe saw that before long, and yielded gracefully to the inevitable.

From that time he was scarcely once out of public office. He quarreled with Washington, stirred up a tempest as minister to France, and landed in the cabinet of President Madison. His vigorous efforts in the War of 1812 put him in line for the presidency.

It was in 1816 that he reached this apex of statesmanly ambition, and four years later he was reelected to this highest office with only one electoral vote against him. The administration of James Monroe became known as "the era of good feeling," and his death on Independence Day, 1831, caused country-wide mourning.

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL STAFF OF THE MENTOR ASSOCIATION

ILLUSTRATION FOR THE MENTOR, VOL. 2, No. 23, SERIAL No. 75

COPYRIGHT, 1915, BY THE MENTOR ASSOCIATION, INC.